Creating space for fishermen's livelihoods: Anlo-Ewe beach seine fishermen's negotiations for livelihood space within multiple governance structures in Ghana

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Introduction

Reports on the rapid depletion of the world’s oceans underline again and again the importance of fisheries management. Biologists warn us that oceans will be empty by 2048 (Worm et al. 2006) with only jellyfish left for us to eat (Pauly et al. 1998, Pauly & Watson 2003). The State of World’s Fisheries and Aquaculture presented by the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) every two years continues to adopt a warning tone with the authors writing that eighty percent of the world’s major fish stocks are either over-exploited, fully exploited, rebuilding or depleted. The latest report states that most of the stocks of the top ten commercial species, which account in total for about thirty percent of the world capture fisheries production in terms of quantity, are fully exploited or overexploited (FAO 2009: 30). These findings are worrying from a global environmental perspective and echo the findings on the rapid depletion of, for example, tropical forests. Yet they are even more alarming in terms of food security in developing regions, as it has been estimated that ninety percent of the world’s fishers are small-scale fishermen\(^2\) providing food and livelihood especially in developing countries (FAO 2005: 10).

In Africa, any depletion in fish stocks will have serious implications in terms of food security and livelihoods. In many African countries fish is generally still considered a cheap source of animal protein, affordable to poorer population groups (Heinbuch 1994: 1; Feidi 2001). In sub-Saharan African countries fish makes up twenty-two percent of the total animal protein intake, which can exceed fifty percent in some of the poorest countries,\(^3\) where other sources of animal protein are scarce or expensive (WorldFish Center 2005: 2).

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\(^1\) Name of a canoe in Ghana. It indicates that people need to work together in order to have food, or more generally to accomplish a task at hand.

\(^2\) In this thesis I will use the concept fisherman instead of the more gender-neutral fisher. This choice follows from the fact that in Ghana practically all fishers are men.

\(^3\) Such as Equatorial Guinea, Gambia, Sierra Leone and Ghana (WorldFish Center 2005: 2).
Moreover, fish has quite a long shelf life (up to six months) due to processing techniques like smoking and drying and this facilitates distribution and consumption in inland areas (Mensah et al. 2006: 8, DoF 2003: 28).

Fish supplies in Africa are in crisis however. The per capita fish consumption is declining due to a growing population and a decline in capture fish production (WorldFish Center 2005: 7). The contribution that fisheries make to poverty reduction is becoming threatened due to increasing scarcity (Ibid.). Small-scale fisheries are becoming increasingly marginalised, with the scarce resources being concentrated in fewer and fewer hands (Berkes et al. 2001, Hauck 2008: 637). These facts call into question the fishing agreements between distant water fleets from the former Soviet bloc, Asia and the European Union with West African countries (see for more discussion: Kaczynski & Fluharty 2002, Alder & Sumaila 2004, Brown 2005, Béné 2008) as well as current practice that more than fifty percent of global fish production is traded, with a net flow from developing to developed countries.5

In Ghana, the country of focus of this research, fish even contributed up to 63 percent of the total animal protein intake in 2000 (WorldFish Center 2005: 3) with a per capita fish supply of about 27 kilograms per annum (Heinbuch 1994: i), making it one of the countries in Africa with the highest fish-consumption (Mensah et al. 2006: 8). However,

4 See also http://www.fmsp.org.uk/Documents/keylessons/FMSPBrief3_Food%20Security.pdf [Access date: August 2008].

5 See Trade flows between developed and developing countries at www.globefish.org [Access date: November 2008]. In 2003, 60 percent of fish imports of developed countries came from developing countries. Exports from developed countries to developing countries are very important, these are mainly low priced small pelagics which account for 6 percent of total trade (FAO 2005).
with declining catches and a growing population, imports need to go up to keep domestic supply up to the necessary level. Yet imports in Ghana do not meet domestic demand (Alder & Sumaila 2004: 171, Overå 2005). Fisheries in Ghana are also enormously important in relation to livelihoods, with an estimated ten percent of its population directly (as fishermen and processors) or indirectly (as traders, canoe carvers or petrol sellers) dependent on fishing (Mensah et al. 2006:6, Akyeampong 2007; interview Mr Hutchfull, 13-10-2005). This is because fisheries in Ghana are largely rural in character, being dominated by artisanal fisheries responsible for seventy-five percent of marine catches. Fisheries therefore play a major role in poverty alleviation (Mensah et al. 2006: 10). Together with the (semi-)industrial marine and inland sector, fishing contributed 380 million US$ to the national economy in 1996 (Atta-Mills, Alder & Sumaila 2004: 13) and was 94 million US$ worth of exports in 2002 (FAO Ghana Country profile). The fishing sector is therefore very important for Ghana in terms of livelihoods and food security.

In 2002, research was presented at a conference in Dakar showing that West Africa was no exception to the global fisheries crisis. Biomass of demersal and large pelagic fishes (i.e., excluding small pelagics such as ‘sardinella’) has declined by a factor of thirteen over forty years (from 1950 to 2000) in the waters of North West Africa (Christensen et al. 2004: 218) because of increased fishing effort. Other research shows that 68 percent of capture fisheries between Morocco and the Congo are fully developed or in decline and therefore ‘in urgent need of management action’ (Garabildi & Grainger 2002: 111).

These facts call into question the foundations of fisheries management theory and practice, and give cause for a new approach (see also Kooiman & Bavinck 2005: 11-12). The question is what should this new approach be? Answering that question is not easy because fisheries relate to so many domains (biology, ecology, social and political sciences and economics), and concepts are often misunderstood, thereby making the discussion even more complicated (Bromley 2008). For a long time, biologists have been influential in determining what fisheries management, based on data and models, was all about (Pauly 2006). A lot of fisheries management plans and measures were based on their assessments, knowledge and research data. Economists have also been quite influential with their ideas on quotation and taxation (neo-liberal economics) and with reasoning out of transaction costs (institutional economics) (Van der Burg 2000). Input from the social sciences (with exception of the economists) started only quite recently (Johnson 2006b) and that has been a serious omission. Jentoft (1998: 178) formulated three strong arguments as to why social sciences should play a more active

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6 I will use the concept artisanal and small-scale fisheries interchangeably. Both concepts have their own connotations (see Johnson 2006a). With these concepts I refer to the sub-sector in Ghana using canoes (or even only nets such as cast nets) for their fishing operations. The artisanal or small-scale subsector stands opposed to the (semi-)industrial sector.


9 Biomass as defined in this article excludes small pelagic and mesopelagic fishes (Christensen et al. 2004).

10 A ‘fully’ developed fishery is a fishery which, following a period of rapid and steady increase of fishing pressure and catches, has reached its maximum average yearly production. It is usually understood that such a fishery yields close to its maximum sustainable yield. FAO glossary: http://www.fao.org/fi/glossary/ [Access date: September 2008].
role in fisheries management. In the first place ‘to manage well you need to know not only fish, but also fishers and fishing’. Secondly, fisheries management is a political process (more than a scientific one), which needs to be understood (see also Bromley 2008). Thirdly fisheries management is a system in itself and social sciences is based on long-term experience in the area of institutional formation, function and consequences.

This study should be seen in the light of declining catches, and feeds into the need for a new approach in fisheries management in which the social sciences play a greater role. Social science research in the area of fisheries management in West Africa is scarce and few studies address the local features and demands of small-scale fisheries and fishermen (Lindqvist & Mölsä 1992: 192). There is a lack of research on the West African region and particularly on the socio-economics of fisheries. As a result, some critics state that there is a ‘need for research into indigenous knowledge of fisheries management’ and a ‘need for studies into fishery community organisation’ (Bortei-Doku Aryeetey 2002: 324, 339).

This study contributes to this goal by presenting a case study of one of the artisanal fishing groups active in the West African Region, namely the Anlo-Ewe beach seine fishermen in Ghana. This study is about how the Anlo-Ewe beach seine fishermen negotiate livelihood space within multiple governance systems, both at home and in migration settings in Ghana. The research will reveal, and is also built around, three themes characteristic of artisanal fisheries in Ghana, each of which adds to the complexity and dynamics of fisheries governance in Africa. The first is that fishing is a livelihood activity, meaning that it is central to the livelihoods of fishermen, which are understood as being wider in scope than income alone. The importance of this will be addressed in this study. The second is the mobility of artisanal fishermen since many have migrated within and beyond Ghana to fish. The third is the pluralism of governance systems. Fisheries in Ghana take place in a multiple governance context, with organisations related to the post-colonial government and to traditional governments. It is important to note here that I use the term traditional through want of a better term, and because this is the term used in Ghana to refer to this phenomenon, although it is also referred to as chieftaincy. It is, however, a false division between modern (Government of Ghana) and traditional (chieftaincy) for the contemporaneous traditional gov- ernments are incorporated into the modern governing structure.

Governance as a concept is becoming increasingly important in science and policy. As we will see below, the concept is also being used more and more often in relation to fisheries, replacing the concept of management. Before we continue it is important to know what is understood by fisheries management and governance in this thesis. I would like to use the definition of Kooiman & Bavinck (2005) who described governance as ‘the whole of public as well as private interactions taken to solve societal problems and create societal opportunities. It includes the formulation and application of principles guiding those interactions and care for institutions that enable them’ (*Ibid.*: 17). Governance consists of three orders. It deals with day-to-day affairs at the first order, and that order can also be called management. Management is therefore part of governance and is understood in this thesis as all kinds of activities people purposely undertake on a collective level to regulate fisheries (by making rules or developing norms based on existing – or new – values). The second order of governance focuses on the institutional arrangements within which management takes place. The third order comprises the principles and values of meta-governance, such as rationality, responsive-ness and performance (Kooiman & Bavinck 2005: 19-20).
In Figure 1.3, I have visualised how I understand the difference between management and governance, and how both relate to space and time. In contrast to Kooiman & Bavinck I believe that managers can also be involved in making or changing institutional arrangements (second order governance). Thus where Kooiman & Bavinck would see the dashed line between management and governance as the border for first order governance, I believe that second order governance is partly included in the management box.

‘Governance is the broader concept, which invites a more reflexive, deliberative and value-rational methodology than the instrumental, means-end oriented management concept’ (Jentoft 2006: 671). Governance is concerned with the goals one wishes to pursue and management with how to achieve those goals (Jentoft 2008).

Theoretical debates
This thesis builds on the debates of natural resource management, governance and livelihood. This section will begin with natural resource management and the important sub-debate on the commons in order to acquire a better understanding of the elements that need governance. Fish as a natural resource and fisheries as its related activity have their own characteristics and will be discussed before we proceed to examine (fisheries) governance and livelihood.

Natural resource management
In the 1980s awareness increased about environmental problems and scarcity of natural resources, which fed into a scientific debate on natural resource management.
• Common pool resource

An important sub-debate is that of the commons. A common pool resource is a valued resource\(^{11}\) that is available to more than one person and subject to degradation as a result of overuse. It is difficult and costly to exclude other users and one person’s use subtracts from what is available to others causing free riding and overuse (Dietz et al. 2002: 18; Jones & Carswell 2004: 144). Fish is generally considered a common pool resource. Debates on governance of common pool resources have been considerably influenced by the publication of Hardin’s *Tragedy of the Commons* (1968). The dilemma that Hardin describes is that a common pool resource can be sustained only if all the users restrain themselves. However, if you restrain yourself while your co-user does not, the resource can still collapse. In that case you will have lost the short-term benefits of taking your share (Dietz et al. 2002: 3). His argument, that only private or state property rights regimes could prevent the collapse of common pool resources has been influential, and has led to a lot of intervention (Jones & Carswell 2004: 143; Béné 2004: 79). Hardin made use of game and rational choice theory, which was quite heavily criticised later for its one-sided, limited ‘rational’ economic view of mankind (Van Est 1999: 10). More importantly, however, it has been misleading since Hardin confused common property regimes with open access scenarios (Jones & Carswell 2004: 143; Bromley 2008: 10). Evidence from around the world has shown that a lot of common pool resources, including fisheries, have been managed under a variety of systems (see Béné 2004: 71 for an overview). ‘Open access to fisheries resources is the exception’ (Cormier Salem 2000: 210 cited in Béné 2004: 71). Degradation of marine environments due to over-fishing is therefore often not caused by an absence of governance, but by new driving forces surpassing the capacity of old management systems (Chuenpagdee et al. 2005: 26-27, see also for forests Sarin et al. 2003). The proposal that is often made that new property rights systems are needed to halt further degradation, is therefore misleading (Bromley 2008: 10-11). Mostly they already exist and may be in need of revision.

It is likely, once people started to depend on fish for their livelihoods, that fisheries worldwide were managed under access arrangements rather than on the basis of pure open access (Bavinck 2001: 28; Acheson 1981: 281, for forests see Sarin et al. 2003). Such systems for regulating usage of common pool resources have been called property rights regimes. Three basic institutional types (ideal types) of property rights regimes have therefore been identified: government ownership, private ownership and ownership by a community. However, each of these types has a wide variety of subtypes or hybrid forms (Dietz et al. 2002: 18, 21).

There is a difference between *de jure* and *de facto* rights with the former being the official legal institution in place and the latter the institution in practice.\(^{12}\) In West African countries, for instance, marine fisheries resources are more or less classified (*de jure*) as state property (Boretei-Doku Aryeetey 2002: 332). Access to Ghanaian waters is officially restricted to Ghanaians nationals and joint ventures have only been set up for tuna vessels, with Ghanaians and foreign operators each holding 50 percent of the shares (MFRD 2004: 9). At local level, access is *de jure* arranged under state property

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\(^{11}\) It is important to understand that not all available elements that can potentially be used in nature are resources and that defining something as a resource is a social definition (Dietz 1996: 33-34).

\(^{12}\) De facto: originated among resource users, not (yet) recognised by government authorities, *de jure*: enforced by a government, given lawful recognition by formal, legal instrumentalities (Schlager & Ostrom 1992: 19).
giving open access to all Ghanaian nationals. However de facto it is arranged under traditional custody. Local chief fishermen are often responsible for the access arrangements. In the African context it is important to realise that property rights have a different meaning, based on a different understanding of ownership (Gordon 2006), something which has been analysed in the legal pluralism debate which will be discussed in more detail later on (Chapter 6).

Fisheries governance includes access arrangements, but is more than that. Fisheries governance is the total of rules and regulations with regard to fisheries aimed at reducing risks and creating opportunities. In the next section we will discuss some characteristics of fishing that are important to understand before we can discuss fisheries governance in more detail.

**Characteristics of fishing**

Fishing is a risky business. Going out on the open sea in a small wooden boat, crossing the surf, losing sight of land means taking risks.

The sea is a dangerous and alien environment, and one in which man is poorly equipped to survive. It is a realm that man enters only with the support of artificial devices (i.e. boats, canoes, platforms, scuba gear or other technologies), and then only when weather and sea conditions allow. (Acheson 1981: 276)

Therefore, the sea, sudden weather changes or technical failure can jeopardise the expedition and in some cases the consequences are fatal. Marine fishing is still the most deadly of occupations. The lives of fishermen are threatened by storms, rough waves, cold and fatigue (Johnson *et al.* 2005: 85-86). Out at sea fishermen are chasing or looking for a resource that (often) is not directly visible and therefore a catch is never guaranteed. Besides this, there are a lot of species with different habits and many of them are not always available, due to seasonality. Some species migrate, but fish populations can also fluctuate drastically (naturally) in ways that are difficult to predict (Acheson 1981: 276). In addition, fishermen often compete with each other. Even if they succeed in filling their nets or boat with a good catch, they are still not sure of getting a good price, since the market is equally unpredictable and largely out of their control (Van Ginkel 1993: 2). The market with its fluctuating demand curves and its increasing quality demands, also determines the prices for the necessary inputs such as nets and fuel, and therefore has a double impact on fishermen’s income. The more fishermen become integrated into the global market, the greater the impact those economic risks will have on them (Johnson *et al.* 2005: 86).

Fishermen operate as it were in two worlds: the natural world (in which the fish swim) and the social world (in which fishermen, traders and consumers live). Fishermen need to have access to both worlds by making use of their knowledge and they try to safeguard their livelihoods by creating certain agreements. The vertical connection between different worlds has been called a fish chain (Thorpe *et al.* 2005: 41-44). This fish chain can stretch across geographical distances and administrative boundaries or span time frames (Adhuri & Visser 2007). It can be limited to one beach in a certain village and can describe one sequence of catch and sales, or it can also be extended to a world region with lots of fishing techniques targeting lots of species being sold to many markets and reaching consumers far away.

Fishing is not only a risky business, it is also a trade in which fishermen are often largely absent from their households and communities. Fishermen work long hours in an all-men environment. Fishermen’s wives have to run the household without their
men (Acheson 1981: 277). They are often actively involved in the business by processing fish or by having other income deriving activities to add to the household income. Together they are also impacted by policies and governmental interventions of many kinds. The fact that fishermen are away from home for long periods means that they are easily unrepresented in the political arena and become dependant on others (Ibid.).

Based on the above one might wonder why people ever take up fishing. However, it is important to understand that fishing is also an attractive activity. Fishermen in general are usually committed to their occupation (Acheson 1981: 295). They value the freedom of the job, being their own boss, being outdoors and meeting the challenges fishing presents to them (Pollnac & Poggie 2006: 31). Fishers derive satisfaction from their work and are very proud of their identity (Van Ginkel 2003). Fishermen are engaged in a livelihood activity that has often been performed before by their parents and grandparents and which is often continued by their children (see for Dutch fisheries: Salz et al. 2008: 53). Fishing is attractive because of the income it generates, and its instant revenues (compared to farming which means waiting before one can harvest what has been planted). Moreover, the fishing sector has often served as a safety net for other rural inhabitants (particularly in Senegal: see De Vries 2003: 108; Pinnegar & Engelhard 2008: 12; Béné 2003).

Amidst the uncertainty and the potential opportunities fisheries offer, it is obvious that fishermen will try to organise their business in such a way that risks are reduced or spread over a number of people (for instance in the crew organisation) and that opportunities can be pursued (Acheson 1981: 277). They make agreements on rights and rules amongst each other and they have dealings with others on matters related to their business. All these basic forms of regulation and organisation in the fish chain, aimed at reducing risks and creating opportunities, can be referred to as fisheries management. In the next section I will elaborate on fisheries governance (including management).

**Fisheries governance**

Fisheries governance as a concept refers to both scientific debates and to political and administrative practice, including management. Moreover, as we saw in the context of the fish chain, fisheries governance can be understood at multiple time and space scales. Governance is dealt with by international bodies such as the FAO, or regional bodies such as the Committee for the Eastern Central Atlantic Fisheries (CECAF) in West Africa and national governments like the one in Ghana are also involved. At sub-national level, fisher groups undertake managing activities by having rules and access arrangements. Fisheries governance deals with both the natural and the social world (connected by the fish chain), and therefore both natural scientists and social scientists are involved although the first are generally in a more dominant position than the second.

Fish, being part of the natural world, are not only edible, but also provide ecosystem functions. The health of marine ecosystems in return determines fish productivity. Therefore, the availability of fish and healthy marine ecosystems are linked (Chuenpagdee et al. 2005: 25). Declining catches have caused biologists to advise governments on the quantities of fish that can be caught in a sustainable manner, otherwise known as the maximum sustainable yield (MSY). Assessing how much can be caught is a difficult task, partly because of the ‘shifting baseline syndrome’ (Pauly 1995). This refers to how every new generation of fisheries scientists accepts a new (further declined) baseline of stock size and species composition used to evaluate change. Another important notion
that influences fisheries management is that of ‘fishing down the marine food web’ (Pauly et al. 1998). Research has shown how global fish landings have shifted from larger to smaller fish, with a lower trophic level\textsuperscript{13} (see Gascuel 2002). Management plans based on single species assessment are the subject of increasing criticism and ecosystem-based management is therefore required (see the FAO Code of Conduct for Responsible Fisheries article 6.2 part 2\textsuperscript{14}). However, according to some, the latter is also more difficult and less reliable and no firm conclusions have yet been drawn as to what is best (Cardinale & Svedäng 2008).

There is also an ongoing debate amongst social scientists on how fisheries should be governed, complex as this issue is due to the ever-increasing concerns (Jentoft 2006: 671). The acknowledgment that fisheries are complex, diverse and dynamic at different scales is reflected in the use of the more inclusive term governance in the debate. The governance concept implies more integrated approaches: ‘governance goes beyond the problems at hand to consider longer-term societal trends and needs’ (Kooiman & Bavineck 2005: 16). As fisheries scientists have developed their thinking from single species to the ecosystem approach, so have social scientists rediscovered systems thinking. Social scientists describe ‘fishery systems’ as comprising social systems and management systems (Charles 2001) or as the ‘system to be governed’ (the fish chain) and the ‘governing system’ (Kooiman et al. 2005). One of the basic dichotomies in social science research is that of structure and actors. As described above, systems thinking has been reintroduced in the fisheries niche of social sciences, despite years of criticism of this kind of systems approach (for instance the livelihoods approach). This study wishes to bridge the gap between the more actor-oriented livelihoods approach and the more structure-oriented governance approach by using the concept of negotiation.

The social science input as to what fisheries governance should be has become increasingly normative and the question being asked is whether the present situation is desirable? (Jentoft 2006: 672) As formulated by Kooiman (2005: 242): ‘If we want fisheries governance to be more effective, we need to address its fundamental principles’. Governance is recognised as having normative elements, as it is based on principles at meta level, such as democracy, as reflected in the desire to address the complexity with involvement by the different stakeholders (Gray 2005). It is an issue that needs to be addressed by the joint effort of bureaucrats, scientists, user groups and politicians (representing broader public interests) (Jentoft 2006: 672-673). The approach comes in the era of ‘good governance’. In this context, Jentoft argues – based on the ideas of Flyvbjerg (2003) – that the contribution of the social sciences to fisheries resource governance must essentially be ‘phronetic’ – reflecting on interests and values – as that is where its strength lies. Phronesis is ethical knowledge relating to ‘what is good or bad for man’ (quoting Aristotle) (Jentoft 2006: 673). This phronesis is not, however, concerned with universals alone but, to quote Aristotle again, ‘must also take cognisance of particulars, because it is concerned with conduct, and conduct has its

\textsuperscript{13} Trophic level refers to the animal’s position in the food chain as determined by the number of energy-transfer steps from plants (trophic level = 1) to that level (explanation given in Alder & Sumaila 2004: 168).

\textsuperscript{14} The Code of Conduct for Responsible Fisheries was developed by FAO in response to recent developments and concerns in the world fisheries, with the goal to establish principles and international standards to responsible fisheries. http://www.fao.org/DOCREP/005/v9878e/v9878e00.htm [Access date: October 2008].
spheres in particular circumstances’ (Jentoft 2006: 678). Kooiman et al. (2005) have ended up dealing with mostly universals, as they wish to address fisheries governance in the North and the South (Kooiman & Bavinck 2005: 22) whereby they focus on shared meta-principles at a global level (Bavinck & Chuenpagdee 2005: 245). Meta-principles are, however, also subject to scale. This study wishes to apply the Kooiman et al. (2005) governance approach to a concrete case and is therefore concerned with a particular group, in a particular location using a particular fishing technique, fishing and living and making decisions in a particular setting. At the same time it will position this particularity in larger contexts and showing ‘how people are necessarily both local and global actors’ (Walley 2004: 11).

The livelihoods debate
The livelihoods approach was introduced in the 1990s as a new approach to understanding poverty and assisting in poverty reduction. It came as a reaction to the way poverty was perceived and discussed in development cycles and in macro-economic approaches (Kaag et al. 2003: 3; Faillier & Kane 2004: 123). It was intended to alter the approach of perceiving the poor as people who are only lacking (money, food and access) and as victims of structural constraints, to people imbued with agency (Kaag et al. 2003: 5). Thereby it also shifted the focus on financial aspects of poverty to other dimensions, also bringing in dynamics (Lewins 2004: 37). The livelihoods approach implied an actor-oriented perspective at micro level, which came up in academia after the decades with a structural focus (De Haan & Zoomers 2005: 28). The livelihoods approach will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3. In this section we focus on how the livelihoods debate relates to that of fisheries governance.

• Livelihoods and fisheries governance
The Sustainable Fisheries Livelihood Programme (SFLP) argues that ‘[f]ish resources are a source of food, employment and wealth. Fisheries management is therefore a development issue as well as an environmental one’.15 The importance of sustaining small-scale fisheries and thereby enhancing development is being increasingly recognised (Allison & Ellis 2001: 377). About ninety percent of fisheries world-wide are small-scale, producing fifty percent of fish and providing livelihoods to millions of people in poor fishing communities (FAO 2005: xv). The link between poverty and small-scale fisheries is often strongly emphasised in a lot of literature (De Vries 2003, Pauly 2006), yet should be met with some caution. The almost universally accepted perception that ‘fishery rhymes with poverty’ (Béné 2003) has been challenged by empirical data as being at least more complex than often presented, yet has still led to the idea that the root of the problem lies in the economic and biological aspect of the activity: ‘Poverty in fisheries has been explained through a linear relationship between the low incomes of fishermen (due to low catch) and the over-exploited resources (created and/or maintained by the open access nature of the fisheries)’ (Béné 2004: 79). Yet, as the environmental entitlements debate (see Chapter 3) shows, it is not so much the scarcity of a resource or lack of production that increases poverty but lack of access to it (Sen 1981 quoted in Béné 2004: 77). And as the livelihoods approach has emphasised, income is not a true assessment of poverty: one may lack financial resources

but have access to natural resources and therefore not be poor (Béné 2004: 76). As Béné has assessed, fishing communities often reflect the general lack of development of the rural areas in which they exist. However, fishermen are often not the poorest of the poor (Béné 2004: 76; see also Odotei 1991, Mensah et al. 2006: 10 for Ghana; Hoorweg et al. 2009 for Kenya).

New approaches to fisheries governance were sought at the beginning of the 1990s, when clear signs of overexploitation of the world’s fish stocks became apparent. These had to be directed to conservation and relate to environmental but also to social and economic concerns. The FAO developed the Code of Conduct of Responsible Fisheries which was adopted on 31 October 1995 (FAO 2005: xii). The second general principle of the Code of Conduct (article 6.2) states that:

Fisheries management should promote the maintenance of the quality, diversity and availability of fishery resources in sufficient quantities for present and future generations in the context of food security, poverty alleviation and sustainable development.

Article 6.18 recognises the important contributions of small-scale fisheries to employment, income and food security:

protect the rights of fishers and fish workers, particularly those engaged in subsistence, small-scale and artisanal fisheries, to a secure and just livelihood, as well as preferential access, where appropriate, to traditional fishing grounds and resources in the waters under their national jurisdiction.

In response to the growing awareness of poverty in fishing communities and the lack of attention these communities often receive, the FAO developed the SFLP together with the Department for International Development (DfID) and twenty-five participating countries in West Africa, which commenced in 1999. It is a ‘regional development project whose overall objective is to reduce poverty in inland and coastal fisheries communities through the sustainable improvement of their livelihoods’. Its two main working and reference tools are the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach and the FAO Code of Conduct. It resulted in a lot of research that put the issue of poverty and small scale fisheries firmly on the political map.

Allison & Ellis (2001: 387) applied the livelihoods approach to small-scale fisheries research and found that:

fisheries sector development analyses have tended to focus on what small-scale fish folk do not have – access to infrastructure, finance and technology – rather than what they do have – adaptable and flexible income generating strategies, resilient resource management institutions, knowledge, skill and social capital.

Small-scale fisheries have long been ignored by national governments due to their preoccupation with modernising the fisheries and therefore on developing a (semi-)industrial sector. When small-scale fisheries were included in policy they were encouraged to ‘develop’ or ‘modernise’ with a view to increasing the efficiency of fishing effort by ‘supplying artisanal fishers with improved boat designs, or subsidising credit for the purchase of outboard motors, promoting nets made of more durable materials’ (Ibid.: 382). A lot of modernisation programmes have, in effect, undermined the adaptive capability of small-scale fisheries due to a lack of understanding of small-scale fisher’s livelihoods (see also Platteau 1989a). Or, as Lewins formulates it: ‘Well-meaning policy interventions have so often failed to produce change because the social and political realities faced by the poor are rarely understood or considered’ (Lewins 2004: 44). The

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16 For more information see www.sflp.org.
Livelihoods approach provides a means by which to ‘better understand the nature of small-scale fishery production systems’ (Allison & Ellis 2001: 378) in which flexibility, geographical mobility and livelihood diversification are characteristic adaptive responses (Ibid.: 380).

Livelihoods and governance

The strength of the livelihoods approach is that it gives agency to local actors and that it has highlighted the multidimensionality of poverty (De Haan & Zoomers 2005: 33). The weakness is that structural influences do not receive enough attention or are downplayed (Ibid.). The attention paid to agency and livelihood options was useful as an anti-thesis to structuralist tendencies before, but it needs rebalancing (see Brons et al. 2007). This is also recognised by livelihood specialists, who included structures, processes, government and institutions in the livelihoods approach as visualised in the schemes by the ‘transforming structures and processes’ box later called ‘policy institutions and processes’, often together with ‘social relations, institutions and organisations’. Nevertheless, in a lot of livelihoods research, ‘transforming structures and processes’ or ‘policy institutions and processes’ are regarded more like a black box (Carney 2002: 46), a full container in which a lot happens which cannot be seen or precisely studied. In the livelihoods approach, structural influences are all too often portrayed as fixed whereas, in fact, structures are also susceptible to change and object of negotiations. Kaag et al. (2003) recognise the challenge for livelihoods research as being not to lose sight of power relations and the structural environment, and they advocate a processual perspective that ‘puts people and their actions at the centre of the analysis, but that at the same time considers these actions as the result and the constituent of broader and longer term processes’ (p. 7). Such an approach should capture ‘the ongoing dynamics of people’s interaction with their social, institutional and material environment’ (Kaag et al. 2003: 18). That is what this study wishes to do, namely to shed light on what happens in the interaction between actors within certain structures. We are able to do so by bringing the concepts of livelihood and governance together in one conceptual framework. Before we continue discussing the conceptual framework of this thesis, we first need to focus on the fisheries sector in Ghana and position the beach seine technique used by the Anlo-Ewe, who are central to this study.

Fisheries in Ghana

This study was carried out at three locations, Woe, Akosua Village and Half Assini, along the 536 km coastline of Ghana. Ghana is located in the central part of the Eastern Central Atlantic, along the Gulf of Guinea, between Ivory Coast and Togo, and stretches from longitude 3°06’W to 1°10’E and between latitudes 4°30’ and 11°6’ (see Figures 1.1 and 1.4). It has a population of over 22 million in 2008 (CIA world fact book), with an annual growth rate of 2.6 percent (Mensah et al. 2006: 4).

Ghana lies in the tropical equatorial belt where average temperatures are between 25°C and 35°C and where climatic conditions change mainly due to the amount and distribution of rainfall, with there being two distinct wet seasons each year, a major one in May-June and a minor one in August-September (Mensah et al. 2006: 4). Ghana has long sandy beaches, interspersed with rocky shores, estuaries and lagoons (92 in total). The beaches are subject to erosion, a problem contributed to by the Cape St. Paul wilt
disease killing large numbers of coconut trees (Mensah et al. 2006: 4). Ghana’s oceanography is subject to two upwelling periods, a major one from July-September and a minor one of three weeks between December-January.

In this section we describe the fishing sector in Ghana and then position the fisher group which is central to this study (the Anlo-Ewe) and their technique vis-à-vis other fishing groups (Fante, Ga, Effutu and Nzema) and their techniques. In Table 1.1 we can

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Coastal Ethnic Groups</th>
<th>Coastline (km)</th>
<th>No. of fishermen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Western</td>
<td>Nzema</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>6,750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ahanta</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>10,990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>Fante</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>28,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Awutu-Effutu</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>6,450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greater Accra</td>
<td>Ga</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>16,150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dangbe</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>13,370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volta</td>
<td>Anlo-Ewe</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>14,355</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Coastal Zone Profile of Ghana in Mensah et al. 2006: 37.

17 Upwelling means that sea surface temperatures fall below 25°C (normally between 27-29°C), surface salinities increase and dissolved oxygen values generally fall; affecting the biological activity with a rise in phytoplankton and zooplankton production and spawning fish resources giving a boost to the fisheries resources (Mensah et al. 2006: 5).
see which ethnic groups are dominant in which coastal regions, the length of the coast-
lines and the number of fishermen.

Ghana has a long fishing history and, together with Senegal, has the largest fishing
industry in West Africa. Fishing is one of the most important economic activities in the
country (Ferrais et al. 1997: 448).

*Fishing history*

Old European travel reports provide evidence that Ghanaians (Fante in particular) were
already fishing at sea before 1471 (Odotei 1991: 168). Odotei refers to the report of a
Portuguese traveller who founded the Castle *Sao Jorge da Mina* in 1482, and who spoke
of ‘the many nets that were found here when this land was discovered’ (*Ibid.*). Haakonsen
cites the same Portuguese traveller: the ‘negroes’ were ‘great fishermen who go
fishing two or three leagues at sea in some canoes resembling a weaver’s shuttle’ (De
Not all scientists agree. Law (1989) for instance contests that the West African coastal
people fished at sea or traded along the coast before the arrival of the Europeans. Law
argues that the canoes of the coastal people, hired by the Europeans to provide a link
between the European ships and the coast, had been modified from riverine to marine
use (Law 1989 in Overå 2001: 8). However, Odotei argues that the Fante already had
trade links along the coast from Ivory Coast to Benin, and that the Europeans only in-
tensified their import and export activities (Odotei 1991: 169).

There generally is consensus however that the Fante taught other coastal groups, like
the Ga and Ewe, how to fish at sea (Overå 2001: 9). They moved to new coastal
locations in pursuit of the migrating fish and later also as a result of following the
Europeans, who had offered the Fante jobs as surf men. The Ewe only really started
fishing at sea when a new net, the beach seine, became accessible to them with a Euro-
pean origin. This net is called ‘yevudor’, which means ‘the white man’s net’ (Nukunya
1991: 209) (see Figures 1.5 and 1.6).

*The Ghanaian fishing sector*

The contemporary Ghanaian fishing sector consists of marine fisheries, inland fisheries
(with most of the fishing taking place on Lake Volta) and aquaculture. The marine
sector is the most important providing eighty percent of domestic supply.¹⁸ Fish is
Ghana’s most important non-traditional export commodity¹⁹ and in total the fisheries
sector accounts for five percent of the agricultural GDP, worth a total of 96 million
dollars in 2002 (MFRD 2004: 5). Fish and seafood exports from Ghana consist mainly
of tuna (76 percent²⁰) (caught by the industrial sector), frozen fish (mostly demersals²¹),
shrimps, lobsters, cuttlefish and dried / smoked fish (MFRD 2004: vi).

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¹⁹ Since the 1980s Ghana has been pursuing an export-diversification strategy of development with a
greater emphasis on the non-traditional export sector. Non-traditional export products are agricultural,
processed and semi-processed and handicraft products. In Ghana fish is one of these, and then mostly
tuna, shrimps, lobsters and prawns. Other products include pineapples, mangoes, textile and rotan fur-
niture (Addo & Marshal 2000).

²⁰ In 2000, tuna accounted for 40,710 tonnes of the 53,060 tonnes of exported fish in total (Mensah et al.
2006: 10).

²¹ Demersal fish are fish that feed on or near the bottom of the sea. They are also known as bottom
feeders, benthic fish or groundfish.
Ghana’s marine waters are home to small and large pelagic and demersal species. The Ghanaian marine ecosystem is severely affected by the two upwelling periods, when fish production increases sharply (MFRD 2004: vi). In 2000, the total quantity of fish caught by Ghanaian vessels (see Table 1.2) was 467,700 tonnes. Most of the fish were caught in marine waters (355,000 tonnes), 87,500 came from inland waters (Lake Volta, rivers, dams and aquaculture) and 25,200 tonnes were caught by Ghanaian vessels in foreign waters (Mensah et al. 2006: 9). Although considerable, total production is not enough to sustain Ghana’s demand for fish which has been estimated at 600,000 tonnes per year (Ibid.). Ghana therefore imports fish from Europe and other West African countries, mainly from Morocco, Mauritania, Namibia, Norway, the Netherlands, Belgium, Senegal and the Gambia (FAO Ghana profile).

• Artisanal sector
Artisanal fishing is the most important sub-sector in marine fisheries, contributing 60-70 percent of the marine fish output (Mensah et al. 2006) (see Figure 1.7). In 2005, there were approximately 13,000 canoes (Interview, Mr Hutchfull, 13-10-2005). The latest official figures date from 2001 when there were reportedly 9,981 marine artisanal canoes operating (see Table 1.2) from 304 landing beaches in the vicinity of 185 villages along the Ghanaian coast (MFRD 2004: vi). The artisanal sector is officially (de jure) allocated an exclusive zone for fishing up to the 30 meter-depth-line from the coast, within which the semi-industrial sector cannot come (Bortei-Doku Aryetey 2002: 334).

Traditional processing methods such as smoking, salting and drying are used all along the coastline to preserve most of the fish caught – both by the artisanal and inshore fleets (MFRD 2004: vi). The gear used by the artisanal fishermen can be classified into five groups: purse seine nets (39.8 percent), drifting gill nets (2.9 percent), set nets (29.7 percent), hook and lines (11.9 percent) and beach seines (8.9 percent) (the percentages are based on figures from 1992 – Ferrais 1997: 450). Besides these, fishermen also use cast nets and traps (Mensah et al. 2006: 17). The common fishing craft is a dugout canoe carved out of a single trunk of wood, symmetrical in shape, double ended and ranging in size from 3 to 18 metres in length and 0.5-1.8 metres in width (Ferrais 1997: 449). The targeted species are small pelagic (most

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22 Pelagic fish live in the water column (in contrast to demersal fish that live near the seabed).
Table 1.2  Number of marine fishing vessels in Ghana

<table>
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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>canoes</td>
<td>8,895</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9,981</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inshore vessels</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>industrial trawlers</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shrimpers</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuna bait boats</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuna purse seiners</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The inshore vessels are locally built wooden-hulled vessels between 8-37 metres long and are used for purse seining during the upwelling seasons and for trawling during the rest of the year. Due to a decline in target species and high costs of operation and maintenance this fleet has decreased over the years (MFRD 2004: 9). In 2005 however a sharp increase can be seen again.


Figure 1.7  Ghanaian marine fisheries landings in Ghanaian waters 1972-2000


important are the highly variable sardinella, and anchovies), large pelagic (mainly tuna) and demersal species (see Appendix 1). The demersal species show clear signs of stress – landings exceed the potential yield (Mensah et al. 2006: 25).

The various coastal ethnic groups in Ghana have specialised in certain gear types. The Anlo-Ewe in beach seine fishing, the Fanti, Effutu and Ga in purse seine and drifting gill net (ali) fishing, the Dangbe and some Ga in line fishing with ice (lagas) (Mensah et al. 2006: 37; Ferraris, Koranteng & Samba 1997: 206). This specialisation
can partly be explained by the fishers’ environment. For example, fishers living nearby rocky areas are more likely to use line gear than nets. However, tradition and fear of the unknown also play a role (Mensah et al. 2006: 17). Artisanal fishermen have designed different types of gear that they use at different times depending on the availability of certain species (see Appendix 1).

• Modernisation
In the course of time the artisanal sector has gradually ‘modernised’, for example through the introduction of outboard motors (made available through loan schemes or lower import taxes by the government which also set up repair shops and often subsidised petrol), nylon nets which replaced the former nets made out of natural materials (such as cotton and coconut) and new gear such as purse seines, monofilament and ice boxes (Mensah et al. 2006: 29-30).

‘On the whole post-independence fisheries policies have tended to favour industrial fisheries at the expense of the artisanal sector’ (Bortei-Doku Aryetey 2002: 336; see also Platteau 1989a, Mensah et al. 2006, Bavinck 2005). As in other developing countries ‘the idea prevailed in official circles that rapid growth of fish production (…) would be better ensured through radical modernisation of the fishing sector – which implied the importation of industrial harvesting, processing and marketing techniques or methods from developed countries – than through a gradual upgrading of traditional techniques and methods’ (Platteau 1989a:589). For example, in the FAO report on Ghana in 1961 we read: These [communities] are among the most rudimentary fishing communities, where literacy is practically unknown and the people are superstitious to such a degree that much of their fishing activity is controlled by fetishes and taboos (FAO 1961: 6).

Worldwide marine fishing catches increased dramatically after the Second World War due to these technological innovations (access to fishing grounds further out and improved technologies for catching fish in larger quantities and for targeting certain species). At the same time national and international demand for fish grew considerably, most notably in developing countries (Delgado 2003: 2). This, combined with an emerging ideology of modernisation (‘the old is backward and doomed to remain so’)
and of planned development (‘growth and change can and must be initiated from above’) all came together in a policy favouring the (semi-)industrial sector (Platteau 1989a: 577). However, the artisanal sector did not disappear or dissolve into the modern sector. On the contrary – despite long term neglect – it developed, grew and was highly successful (see also Haakonsen 1990, Chauveau et al. 2000). The artisanal sector in Ghana accounts for more than sixty percent of marine fish landings (see Figure 1.7) and contributed considerably to levels of employment. What is even more impressive is the fact that this growth happened during a period of general African economic regression (Chauveau 1989).

The general assumption was that traditional forms of agricultural production would gradually disappear once connected with the (capitalist) market-system at national, macro-regional and international levels. This has not, however, turned out to be the case. A couple of explanations have been given for this, some of which use rational capitalist reasoning, for example that, due to ‘the handicraft character of many agricultural tasks, an hour of wage labour is (…) much less cost-effective than an hour of own (family) labour’ (Platteau 1989b: 625) and ‘small-scale producers tend to ‘self-exploit’ themselves under conditions of intense competition’ (Platteau 1989b: 629).

We should realise that making these ‘simplistic distinctions between modern and traditional, small-scale and large-scale, or capitalist and pre-capitalist organisational forms’ (Platteau 1989b: 644) should only be done for analytic reasons such as comparison. They should be seen as ideal-types. In reality there is a lot of overlap between these forms (see also Bavinck 2005, Johnson 2006a). The danger with making this kind of division is that one might fail to differentiate within, for instance, the ‘small-scale’ sector. It should be understood that small-scale can contain a variety of scales, which are all small in comparison to the industrial boats while, for instance, a motorised purse-seine canoe of thirty metres length and two metres width that stays out at sea for a couple of days with ice boxes and a gps on board is ‘large’ and ‘modern’ compared to an non-motorised canoe of six metres length which is used for fishing with a small set-net, set in the morning and collected the following day. In addition, artisanal fishermen can be very heterogeneous in terms of ownership and in the share of the catch, knowledge and access (to credit, capital, markets). In terms of wealth and access in relation to beach seine fishing, a net owner differs greatly from a company member with no special role, other than pulling the net in.

• (Semi-)industrial sector
The (semi-)industrial sector was introduced as a means to develop the Ghanaian fishing sector. This had already started in colonial times (1946) through the introduction of small motor vessels built in the UK, followed by Ghana’s State Fishing Cooperation (1960) and all in all this led to the development of a modern capital intensive sector in the early 1970s with 350 motor vessels in operation (Platteau 1989a: 576). The activities of the industrial sector were mainly meant to involve fishing in the distant waters of Angola and Mauritania. However, after the declaration of the Exclusive Economic Zones23 (1983 for Ghana – Mensah et al. 2006: 5) the sector’s activities shifted to Ghanaian waters and the fleet declined to 169 vessels in 2000 (Koranteng & Pauly

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23 An Exclusive Economic Zone is a coastal zone extending up to a maximum of 200 nautical miles (about 370 km) from the baseline from which the breadth of the territorial sea is measured (normally the low water line along the coast). This depends on the specific geographical situation, with or without adjacent or opposite states (Molenaar 2005).
The semi-industrial or inshore sector operates from Tema, Winneba, Apam, Mumford, Elmina, Sekondi, Takoradi and Axim – places with harbour or semi-harbour facilities. Locally-built wooden vessels with inboard engines (up to 400 hp) are used. The vessels are multi-purpose and are used for purse-seining (during the upwelling periods) and bottom-trawling (done in waters deeper than thirty metres), although purse-seining is preferred (due to it using less engine power). The vessels use ice to preserve the fish caught during fishing trips of three to five days (Mensah et al. 2006: 13-5, 19; Koranteng & Pauly 2004: 76).

The industrial sector consists of large, steel hulled foreign-built trawlers, shrimpers and tuna bait boats and purse-seiners which operate from the two harbours in Ghana with suitable berthing facilities, namely Tema and Takoradi (Mensah et al. 2006: 15) (see Figure 1.4).

Migration

Migration is a characteristic of artisanal fisheries in Ghana (but also in other countries in the West African region such as Senegal, Liberia, Benin and Nigeria) and has been the subject to increased interest on the part of researchers. Ghanaian migrations have been recorded from the beginning of the 20th century (Chauveau 1991). Most Ghanaian fishermen can be found in Togo, Benin, Ivory Coast (Mensah et al. 2006: 45; Odotei 1995, 2002b), as well as in Congo, Cameroon, Guinea, and Sierra Leone (Jul-Larsen 1994, Haakonsen & Diaw 1991, Solie 2006, Ferrais 1997, Odotei 1995, Hendrix 1986, Wagner 1991). In Liberia, Côte d'Ivoire, Benin and Togo, Ghanaian fishers have a strong foothold in the artisanal fishing sector. They are held to be responsible for fifty to ninety percent (!) of the catches. Furthermore, Ghanaians have had a strong technical influence on the fishing sector in West Africa. They taught a lot of West Africans to fish using their techniques and equipment and the Ghanaian canoe is used in many countries in West Africa. The high mobility of fishermen in the sub-region is also a result of the fact that marine resources are shared between countries and this thus has implications for fisheries governance (Bortei-Doku Aryeetey 2002: 331).

Fishermen in Ghana are also internally mobile, mainly as the result of the movement of fish species due to upwelling (see Chapter 5). The sardinella start migrating (in Ghana) from the Western Region and move eastwards to the Volta Region, with the fishermen in their wake. The Fanti and Ga fishermen are the most mobile while Anlo-Ewe fishermen have developed a more permanent form of migration which has led them to settle with their families in the Central and Western Regions (Mensah et al. 2006: 44-45). Fishermen mobility also has implications for Ghanaian fisheries management as, for instance, it makes canoe fishery data assessments more difficult (Ferraris & Koranteng 1995).

The role of beach seine fishing in Ghana

As we noted above, the Anlo-Ewe have become specialised in beach seine fishing. Although some Fanti, Ga and Dangbe fish with this gear (Mensah et al. 2006: 37) most of those who use it are Anlo-Ewe. The beach seine is a commonly used technique all along the coast of Ghana. The beach seine is used throughout the year and that makes it
quite an important type of fishing gear in Ghana (Mensah et al. 2006: 19). We used data from the Ghanaian Fisheries Department24 to perform some calculations to see what the importance of beach seining in Ghana is in terms of catch and value of the catch. Figure 1.9 shows the total catch in 2004 of the artisanal sector, differentiated according to gear. It shows that the beach seine is the second most important gear as regards total catch (73,848 tonnes), after the Ali-Poli-Watsa (APW) canoe (154,946 tonnes). The figure also shows the fluctuation in catches throughout the year, with peak catches in July and higher catches in the minor upwelling season in January as compared to the low season (March, April).

![Figure 1.9](image.png)

The share of the artisanal catches per month in 2004, according to gear

The subsequent lines follow the order of the legend so therefore APW canoes caught the most and the drifting gill the least. Source: author, based on catch data of the MFRD.

The percentage of beach seine fishing to the total catch (in weight) is estimated at 27 percent (see Figure 1.10).

If we focus on the value of the catch (Figure 1.11), we see that the contribution of the beach seine is more or less the same as regards volume, given that it contributed 28 percent of the total value of the artisanal marine catch in 2004. Fishing by drifting gillnet and hook and line is relatively more valuable and accounts for fifteen percent (of a five percent catch) and nine percent (of a five percent catch) respectively. APW canoe fishing results in relatively less valuable fish catches per volume.

24 See Chapter 2. This data was made available to me via Dr Bannerman of the MFRD.
When comparing beach seine fishing to the other gear types on the basis of effort (days spent with fishing) we see that the beach seine companies are quite consistent throughout the year. Levels of effort were lower in April and November, most likely because of the bad weather (see Figure 1.12).

If we relate the catch to the effort we can see what the catch per unit effort (CPUE) is for the different gear types (see Figure 1.13). The beach seine is most efficient in terms of CPUE, which means that it catches a fairly large amount of fish (catch) based on a fairly low amount of time (effort in days).
Finally if we look at two time series of catches from 2000-2004, we see that the total catches of all gears decreased from 2000-2002 and then increased again from 2003-2004 almost to the level of 2001 (Figure 1.14).

In Figure 1.15 we can see that the relative importance of beach seine fishing has grown, although it should be kept in mind that this is a very short time series.

Although the subsector is significantly important, the technique has been criticised for its negative impact on fish stocks (see for example Hosch 2002: 14-15). The non-selectiveness of the gear, which catches almost everything within scope of the net due to the small mesh-sizes used, is a major point of concern.
Beach seines catch adult sardinellas during the upwelling periods and anchovies, juvenile sardinellas and juvenile demersal fishes during the non-upwelling periods (Mensah et al. 2006: 16). As nearshore waters (especially in the vicinity of lagoons and estuaries) play an important nursery role, beach seines with small mesh sizes are said to have quite negative biological effects. This has been shown in research performed by Nunoo et al. (2006). They therefore recommend ‘a co-managed (fishers and government) three-month ban on beach-seining (between May and July) as the most appropriate control measure towards the sustainability of Ghanaian fish stocks’ (Ibid.). In some West African countries (Gabon and The Gambia) beach seines have been banned all together. As we saw above, the beach seine is important in Ghana (as it is in other countries such

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as Togo and Benin), so an outright ban would be politically difficult to implement. In addition, fisheries officers and politicians are aware of the social function of the beach seine, providing work, income and fish to many fishing communities where alternatives are often not available. The beach seine is in that sense a controversial technique.

Research questions and conceptual framework

The central question of this thesis is: *How do Anlo-Ewe beach seine fishermen negotiate livelihood space, within multiple governance systems, both at home and in migrant settings in Ghana?* This central question generates a couple of sub-questions. These are presented below and will be discussed later, together with a definition of the main concepts of this research. As indicated, each of the sub-questions will be answered in Chapters 3 until 7 of this book. This is followed by Chapter 8 in which the main question is answered by discussing two cases, after which there is a general conclusion (Chapter 9).

1. How have Anlo-Ewe beach seine fishermen organised their livelihood? (Chapters 3 and 4)
2. How can we understand the migration of Anlo-Ewe beach seine fishermen? (Chapter 5)
3. What are the relevant multiple governance structures in Ghana for Anlo-Ewe fishermen? (Chapter 6)
4. How is Anlo-Ewe beach seine fishing managed at local level, both by the fishermen themselves collectively within the traditional governing structure, and by the Government of Ghana? (Chapter 7)

The conceptual framework of this thesis is presented in Figure 1.17. The three theoretical debates that have informed this study have been depicted at the top of the framework. The width of the debate sections relates to the domain in the figure below them. Livelihood and Governance meet above the box of collective action, and fisheries management begins with collective action and continues to the governance box, as both fishermen and governing actors are involved in management. Governance includes management, but is more than that.

*Anlo-Ewe beach seine fishermen*

This research focuses on Anlo-Ewe beach seine fishermen. This means that I do not pay special attention to other ethnic fishing groups, or to Anlo-Ewe fishermen using other techniques in Ghana. It also means that my focus is on men, as the fishing sector is sharply divided by gender, with the men fishing and the women processing and trading. The scope of the research would have been excessive if I had included processing and trade as well. However I do refer to women and market processes when necessary. Naturally ‘the Anlo-Ewe beach seine fishermen’ are not a homogeneous group, so where possible I try to differentiate within the group.

*Sub-question 1: Livelihood*

How have Anlo-Ewe beach seine fishermen organised their livelihoods? (Chapters 3 and 4)

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26 Although a ban was suggested when a new Demersal Fisheries Management Plan was drawn up (Koranteng 2000: iv).
Figure 1.17 Conceptual framework

Source: author
• Livelihood space
This section of the conceptual framework represents the local level; what do the Anlo-Ewe fishermen do, how do they live, what is their history, and how have they organised themselves? The section is embedded in the local context with, around that, attention to the higher level contexts. This book is mainly about the livelihood space of the Anlo-Ewe beach seine fishermen. This includes the ‘livelihood cycle’ (as shown in the figure) of access to assets resulting in livelihood strategies with livelihood outcomes which again affect the assets. Fishing is the most important livelihood activity (strategy) and the fishermen’s self organisation (collective action) follows the logic of the activity.

The main activity of the Anlo-Ewe beach seine fishermen is fishing. It is a full-time occupation (Mensah et al. 2006: 20; Nukunya 1989). In this research I use the livelihoods approach in order to understand the assets needed to undertake beach seining (resource, inputs, companies and crew). This is done to understand how access to the assets is mediated by social relations, organisations and institutions and how the vulnerability context affects Anlo-Ewe fishermen as well as to understand the livelihood strategies and livelihood outcomes. When discussing assets, the focus is on fishing (as the main livelihood activity). People have a lot of other assets that might not be directly useful for their livelihood (such as being a great dancer), although it should be kept in mind that those assets can always become useful for their livelihood in future situations (for example when co-dancers from a dance group help you financially when you become ill and are unable to fish).

One of the criticisms of the livelihoods approach is its material bias. ‘We need a framework that bridges the more materialist and the more hermeneutic and actor-centered notions of poverty and livelihood’ (Bebbington 1999: 2022). Bebbington made the observation in the Andes where policy was directed at helping rural dwellers stuck in ‘nonviable’ livelihood activities to leave the land and move to urban areas. However, it was shown that residence in these areas meant more to these people than was realised. ‘Rural residence and relationship to land constitute important dimensions of their ethnic identity: an identity whose maintenance may, beyond any material measure, be a critical determinant of their sense of being poor or not’ (Ibid.: 2026). As Wartena argued: ‘non-economic considerations often play a dominant role in people’s livelihood choices’ (Wartena 2006: 71). The image of actors acting as an *homo economicus* is still dominant in a lot of research, as reflected in the usage of the term capitals (see Chapter 3), and by the fact that a proportion of researchers uses the concept livelihood as synonym for income (Ibid.: 72).

I therefore add the concept of *space* to livelihood to emphasise the fact that these activities are not only linked to their outcomes (e.g. income) but also to the location where they take place, to the people who do it and to the history connecting all of them. As fishermen are linked in many ways to what they do, they negotiate their livelihood...
space and this connects a spatial element to elements of identity, room for manoeuvre, room in which to exist, live, work. As livelihood activities take place in a certain location (place) and are linked to it, there is always a certain place-boundedness that needs to be taken into account. Each place, with its cultural, social, economic and geographical characteristics, produces its own unique pattern of re-alignment between actors, processes and consequences. Livelihood space gives these connotations. Fishermen need to negotiate their livelihood space, that is space to live and work in (physical), space within the fishing sector, by creating a certain niche (economic / sectoral) and space to where one is accepted, finding or having one’s place in society, positioning oneself within social relations (social / cultural). The focus of this research is on the livelihood activity (fishing) and elements of identity are not studied in detail (this book is not a study of lifestyle) but are taken along when important for an understanding of the choices the people central to this research make.

Including a spatial connotation positions my work in a geographical context. Using the concept of livelihood space also gives me the possibility to do three things. First I can give proper attention to place and ground the research at the locations in which it took place. Each place, with its cultural, social, economic and geographical characteristics, produces a unique pattern of re-alignment between actors, processes and consequences. I have therefore chosen to examine certain topics in depth throughout the thesis by focusing on certain cases as they have occurred in certain places. Secondly, the space concept gives me the opportunity to make a connection between the different places. After all, space includes not only place but also networks. A translocal perspective on migration (see Chapter 5) emphasises the linkages between the places migrants are in and the places they came from and this results in a connected space between which people, goods, money, images and ideas flow. The Anlo-Ewe livelihood space incorporates more places due to migration. At the same time I compare the places that the fishermen live in with each other to account for the uniqueness of each place. Thirdly, space can be seen to be social space, space in which one lives, engages in activities and has room to manoeuvre.

The access arrow has been positioned in such a way that it links the livelihood space in which the ‘livelihoods cycle’ (access to assets resulting in a livelihood strategy resulting in outcomes affecting access) takes place, which place is the first to influence access. Access to assets is somewhat cyclical in nature. Livelihood outcomes give access to new assets. Yet it is also influenced by organisations, social relations and institutions not directly related to the ‘livelihood cycle’. Consequently, the layers of the local-international context are also connected by the access arrow. This also includes those coming out of collective action and governance. Finally the vulnerability context can influence access to the assets so that box is also connected to the access arrow.

Determining what is internal and external to the ‘livelihood cycle’ depends, of course, on the level one examines, for example household, company or collective level (see Chapter 2, units of analysis). Collective action takes place in different coalitions and levels and with different identities i.e. as beach seine fishermen, as lineage, as women, as crew members, as net owners or as Anlo-Ewe fishermen in a certain migration village. It is also important to realise that, in addition to the collective action of fish folk, collective action can also take place by other groups in a community (e.g.

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27 In this thesis I will use the word ‘village’ where in specific cases, if a village has more than 5000 inhabitants, the word ‘town’ can be more appropriate. When not referring to a specific village or town I will use the word village.
farmers). Fishermen sometimes also take part in those alliances, since they have multiple identities. Collective action is connected to the ‘livelihood cycle’ by a double sided arrow because it is both a product and a contributing factor. Many (local) management activities take place in this section (such as conflict resolution within a company), without government interference. The arrows with the negotiation interface flow via the collective action box. This does not mean that fishermen do not interact with government representatives on an individual basis as well, but that is not a feature of my research.

The arrow connecting the migration box indicates that migration has implications for livelihood space, but that migration is for instance also a livelihood strategy. The link with the vulnerability box is discussed below.

- Vulnerability context
The livelihood activity of fishermen (fishing) takes place in a vulnerability context, with shocks, trends and seasonality influencing their livelihoods. A few examples are provided throughout the book (Chapters 4 and 8). I show how coastal erosion means less beach (natural asset) and that this possibly contributes to migration (livelihood strategy) and how catches are seasonal due to the influence of the upwelling. Trends include for instance population pressure. Governance influences the vulnerability context, for instance with regard to certain trends, by having a population policy or by being able/unable to respond to certain shocks, hence the double-sided dashed arrow between the vulnerability context and governance. The vulnerability context also has implications for, or influences, migration and vice-versa.

**Sub-question 2: Migration**
How can we understand the migration of Anlo-Ewe beach seine fishermen? (Chapter 5)

From the available literature we know that migration is an intrinsic part of artisanal fisheries in Ghana. Anlo-Ewe fishermen are known for their migrations in Ghana and in the whole West African region. Migration is a general theme of this thesis which underlies all other parts of the framework and is connected to all, even though people migrate as a livelihood strategy meaning that migration is therefore part of the livelihood ‘cycle’. It will sometimes be explained as a livelihood strategy, sometimes as a result of vulnerability and also as an outcome of the negotiation for livelihood space of the Anlo-Ewe beach seine fishers. Migration is shown to have a strong influence on the diversity
of actors in the negotiation interface (locals and migrants), it results in collective action based on ethnicity and it has implications for access to assets. Migration also influences governance systems, as it makes the interface increasingly complex. The fact that people migrate (as a livelihood strategy) means their negotiation interface becomes more complicated (with other governance systems coming into the negotiation picture).

Migrating to another community, outside your home area (read the Anlo-Ewe region), requires negotiation for space, that is space to fish and space in which to live and access to the market. Outside Ghana the space to fish was often available because locals did not fish at sea and valued sea fish highly. Within Ghana the ethnic-technical division in the artisanal sector created negotiated niches along the coast. Different techniques use different fishing zones at sea, partly targeting other species (= space at the market) and therefore creating space for other fishermen. The ‘we are all Ghanaians’ norm also exists and this creates social space. Migration does make the negotiation of fishermen even more important since it adds to the multiplicity of governance structures within which fishers operate and it has implications for fisheries governance.

In their search for space, which in the case of these fishermen entails physical movement in the form of migration, they often cross administrative boundaries. Livelihood space conceptually connects the different places between which the fishermen have set up linkages. In my migration chapter (Chapter 5) I use a translocal approach to understand how the fishermen’s migrations (moving away from the narrow push-pull studies performed so far on fisher migration) and livelihood space fits in nicely with the flows of people, goods and ideas of transnational theory.

Attachment to a place and migration are sometimes thought of as being contradictory to each other. When I discuss livelihood space, I describe the ‘place’ (home area) in which the Anlo-Ewe currently live (Chapter 3), and give a historical sketch of ‘their’ place and their society. I nevertheless have two reasons not to think of that as a contradiction, at least in the case of the Anlo-Ewe. First of all, if we assess the myth of origin – we see (and that has been confirmed by oral and archival sources) that the Anlo-Ewe come from elsewhere, from Notsie in Togo. This myth of origin is very important and is recounted in interview settings, or referred to in my research, as well as in the work of other researchers amongst the Anlo-Ewe (Greene 1996, Geurts 2002). This migration saga is therefore part of their identity. The Anlo-Ewe are an Ewe subgroup, and the Anlo in their group name is derived from their story of origin. At the grand finale of the migration saga of the Anlo-Ewe Whenya, one of the collective ancestors of the Anlo-Ewe arrives at the place at which Anloga (the capital of the Anlo state whose name also includes the letters nlo) is later founded. He has arrived, and will go no further. He underscores that by coiling up. Nlo refers to that bodily action (coiling up), and this is as such central to what it means to be Anlo-Ewe, as Geurts describes: ‘When Mr Tamakloe [an informant in Geurts’ research] folded into himself, it was an enactment, a presentation of the condition of ‘being Anlo’ for more than three hundred years. Nlo emerges, then, as a trope, an enacted metaphor, for a melancholy sensibility, an embodied consciousness with its obverse: nlo as persecution and power; nlo as resentment and respect’ (Geurts 2002: 130).

Secondly, seeing migration as a contrast to local embedding, or place boundedness, is linked to the understanding of migration as a rupture, an anomaly that needs to be explained. ‘[T]he natural state of people and the world was conceived of in terms of stability and coherence’ (De Bruijn et al. 2001: 64).
Sub-question 3: Governance

What are the relevant multiple governance structures in Ghana for Anlo-Ewe fishermen? (Chapter 6)

Fishermen negotiate their livelihood space within available governance structures. In Ghana there is not only the state government, but also local governments and several traditional governance structures of for instance the Anlo-Ewe, the Effutu, the Nzema, and the Ashanti. Policies (legislation) and politics play a role in fisheries and conflict resolution (Chapter 7) often takes place within organisations related to these governance structures. Fishermen negotiate with representatives of governance organisations at the interface. Negotiation is an activity engaged in by people within governance structures. The fact that there is a multiplicity of governance organisations means fishermen make choices, choose ways to solve their issues and provide for their needs. Representatives of governance organisations also negotiate, manoeuvre, and act.

The Anlo-Ewe fishers live in a village that is organised according to certain structures. The village is headed by a chief who is also the head of the traditional council. There is also a town council headed by a chairperson and participated in by assemblymen who represent the village at the higher level district’s assembly. These structures are dual, being of the Government of Ghana and traditional government(s), and both are linked to higher levels than village level. Within these structures we can therefore find all sorts of organisations within which people collectively operate.

The national government is represented at the local level via decentralisation (that is why there is an arrow from the national government to the local government). My research was performed at the local level in villages where a lot of governing takes place via the local governments, which are connected to traditional government. Between the local government and the traditional government there is a double sided arrow reflecting the variety of connections, between those organisations.

The governance section is also connected to the migration section. Migration has implications for governance and vice versa. For example, the government, as a management tool, may want to count canoes. This is a difficult exercise in Ghana due to internal migration. After all, it is difficult to ascertain where the canoes you count on the beach come from, where their home base is and when they return to this base. On the other hand, some government measures can promote migration, such as a ban on certain nets. This will, most likely, lead to fishermen migrating abroad to fish.

The ‘(s)’ after traditional government(s) indicates migration. Fishermen on migration will be confronted by a new traditional government (of their host population) when on migration. Besides this they will be subject to the governance of their own traditional government (via their traditional leaders such as the chief fisherman). This shows how migration makes governance issues more complex.

In addition to the governance organisations of the Government of Ghana and the traditional state(s), there are also organisations or roles that are hybrid. With hybrid I mean...
that they belong both to the traditional domain as to that of the Government of Ghana. One could argue that the entire domain of traditional governance is in fact hybrid as it is regulated under the Chieftaincy act of the Government of Ghana (see Chapter 6), however I would like to differentiate between traditional and hybrid. Not in the least place to avoid giving primacy to one system above the other. That is why I describe this situation as dual governance. Hybrid institutions are in fact a mixture between the traditional domain and that of the Government of Ghana. They can be institutions that for instance have been introduced by the Government of Ghana in the traditional domain such as that of the chief fishermen, in case of the Anlo-Ewe. It is important to make distinction between hybrid and traditional however, because the institution of chief fisherman may be hybrid amongst the Anlo-Ewe but should be regarded as traditional amongst the Fanti. These hybrid organisations or roles will often come into being in the negotiation interface, in interaction with the fishermen (or other locals), traditional officials and government officials.

Context

Within the conceptual framework we have also highlighted the international, national and local context. The triple-layered context in the conceptual framework indicates that all that happens is embedded in larger structures and (sub-)cultures. For instance, the Anlo-Ewe fishermen in Woe are inhabitants of the town of Woe, belong to the Anlo-Ewe group, the Ewe, are inhabitants of Ghana in West Africa, etcetera. It is quite difficult to define culture due to the large number of definitions. Nevertheless, a core element of culture is the whole of values and norms, with the latter being based on values which guide people’s behaviour. Each culture defines ways of doing things in different situations. Norms are more or less binding expectations of behaviour (De Jager & Mok 1994: 69-71). Understanding why people behave as they do therefore means recognising the norms that are at work, and understanding the values on which they are based. These norms and values are core elements of culture. I describe the local context of the Anlo-Ewe fishermen in Chapter 3.
• Institutions
When norms become more fixed, thereby becoming collective patterns of behaviour, they can be called institutions. Giddens provides a brief definition of institutions as being ‘standardised modes of behaviour’ (Giddens 1979: 96). Institutions can be written down rules (laws) but can also be norms (traditions) which have not been committed to paper. All norms and institutions are based on, and related to, certain values (see also Kooiman & Bavinck 2005: 15-17). Institutions persist over time by serving collectively valued purposes (Uphoff 1986). Institutions ‘tie us, as individuals, to society’ (Jentoft 2004: 138). Institutions therefore form the basis of all action and interaction in social settings.

As institutions are linked to values and are part of certain (sub-)cultures, people (and their organisations) can relate to a plurality of institutions based on their different identities or roles. For example, a local village leader working as chair of the town council relates to the government’s ways of doing things, yet he has also been born and bred in his village and can therefore also relate to the ways of doing things in the village. These different ways of doing things do not necessarily have to correlate. For instance, the town council meeting takes place according to certain procedures that need to be followed just as a meeting in the neighbourhood of the village is organised according to the local tradition. As we saw above, hybrid organisations can also be created on the basis of a mix of two or more ways of doing things. The role of chief fisherman is one such hybrid form, being based on traditional (Fante) governance but being spread along the Ghanaian coast by the government of Ghana.

Sub-question 4: Management
How is Anlo-Ewe beach seine fishing managed at the local level, both by the fishermen themselves collectively within the traditional governing structure and by the Government of Ghana? (Chapter 7)

Fisheries management is a form of collective action. Fishing is an activity engaged in by more than one person whereby people make agreements, organise the activity and interact (come into action) with each other and act together (collective action). Fishermen can meet with the government to discuss fisheries matters in a collective manner. In some cases, government and fishermen manage to make co-management arrangements.

Collective action refers to situations in which resource users organise themselves in order to achieve specific objectives. The Anlo-Ewe beach seine fishermen have also organised themselves in various ways to manage their fisheries. In Chapter 7 we discuss the institutions of fisheries management at
local level, focusing on what the Anlo-Ewe beach seine fishermen undertake collectively and also on the regulating activities undertaken by the government in relation to the artisanal fisheries sector. These activities are defined as fisheries management. Beach seine fishing is therefore regulated by the fishermen and by the state and both activities are compared. It is important to keep in mind that when people organise themselves collectively, one needs to ask who are part of the collective.

Central research question: Negotiating livelihood space
Fishers and actors of the governance structures meet each other at the interface, where fishermen negotiate livelihood space. Interaction with government structures most often takes place via leaders or representatives. It also frequently takes place within particular organisations (such as a town council meeting, or in court).

The Ghanaian government tries to get a grip on the fishermen, their communities and their fishing activity and they give or take space. Fishermen negotiate about their aspirations, wishes, demands, ideas and needs in relation to their livelihoods. They make certain choices by doing so, pursue certain strategies and make use of the dual governance structure. It can be a political game whereby all actors make use of certain strategies to pursue their goals.

I emphasise the notion of interaction, seeing fishermen as actors, dealing with multiple governance systems within and across institutional structures. This is important because in much fisheries management literature, management is seen as intervention from above. Interaction is also placed at the centre of the interactive governance approach of Kooiman et al. (2005), who define interaction as a mutually influencing relationship between two or more actors, with an intentional and a structural dimension (Kooiman & Bavinck 2005: 18). I prefer, however, to use the concept of negotiation to emphasise the political side of interaction. Negotiation in comparison to interaction has less a connotation of optional action and therefore is more purposeful. Negotiation is understood as an activity that can take on different guises. It can be direct or indirect (in the form of manoeuvring), institutionalised or can take the form of an apparent lack of interaction. The concept stresses the agency, power of actors thus making them into stakeholders who have a certain interest to protect. The concept is therefore used frequently in situations of conflicting interests. After all, there is no need to negotiate if all the parties agree.

Fishermen need space to carry out their fishing activities, and they need access to assets. Fishermen will often negotiate amongst themselves, with other ethnic groups and with representatives of governance organisations. In order to emphasise this, I have made the concept of negotiation central to the research question. The concept of negotiation, which is central in the process of acquiring access to resources, emphasises the political aspect of creating a livelihood and also serves as the critical link between livelihood and governance and between actor and structure.

The ability to negotiate is dependent on assets and this highlights the fact that assets are not ‘simply resources that people use in building livelihoods: they are assets that give them the capability to be and to act’ (Bebbington 1999: 2022). Assets are ‘the basis
of agents’ power to act and to reproduce, challenge or change the rules that govern the control, use and transformation of resources’ (Ibid.). This negotiating is carried out through the use of social capabilities, both amongst fishermen themselves and with governance organisations. Livelihood studies mainly address these horizontal negotiations, ‘in which reciprocity and solidarity are the norm’ (Glavovic et al. 2002: 5). ‘Vertical links between individuals and groups with varying levels of power and resources, including state and private sector actors, have been overlooked in the Sustainable Livelihoods literature, and this has drawn attention away from the potential of poorer people to claim support from the powerful’ (Shankland 2000 in Glavovic et al. 2002: 5, see also Brons et al. 2007). The fishing-related livelihood studies performed to date tend to focus on what fishermen do and how they do it and they mainly deal with relationships within the group. Although these studies refer to the agency of local actors, they pay almost no attention to their agency in relation to others (individuals or groups) in which often power differences play a role (Glavovic 2002). This is something my study will pay attention to by focussing on negotiation processes of fishermen in multiple governance structures. Using the concept of ‘negotiated livelihood space’ also indicates an ongoing process. Most likely this process will continue without any major problems for years. However, this situation can change very suddenly (due to changed regulations or because of ethnical tension in a context of migration endangering their fishing activity). This research focuses on negotiation cases, both amongst fisherfolk as with powerfull others.

Both fishers and the government have developed fishery-oriented rules and organisations. Those rules are often directed at regulating access and interaction and are based on knowledge and norms and values of society. The latter will, to a certain extent, be similar given that fishers and government are part of the same society. However, there will also be differences because they are part of different sub-societies. The interaction between fishermen and government organisations is interesting because it is influenced by processes of power, influence and leadership development. However, all too often insufficient attention is paid to the role of power in actual implementation of management practice. The fact that rules and organisations are in place is one thing, but the exact way they work is often not studied in any great detail. This thesis attempts to take that a step further and thereby contribute to both the livelihoods and governance debate by questioning whether heterogeneity within organisations plays a role and to see what the role of leadership is.

Structure of the book

The structure of the book is as follows. Chapter 2 discusses the methods of data collection. Chapters 3-7 answer the first four research sub-questions. Each contains a discussion of the relevant literature and theoretical debates, as a presentation of fieldwork data. Chapters 3 and 4 focus on the livelihood space of the Anlo-Ewe fishermen. Chapter 5 explores the topic of migration and presents a new perspective on how to understand the migration of artisanal fishermen including the Anlo-Ewe. Chapter 6 discusses and presents the multiple governance structures. Chapter 7 presents the management activities at local level in which both the Anlo-Ewe and the government organisations participate. In Chapter 8, I show how the negotiation process works by focusing on two cases. In the last chapter (Chapter 9) the research findings are discussed and the central research question is answered.